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ABSTRACT

This booklet reports on the philosophy and demands of the growing international movement for inclusive schools which welcome all children, including those with disabilities or those who have learning difficulties. It maintains that inclusion is not primarily an educational or professional issue but, rather, an issue of basic human rights. It sees educational legislation in the United Kingdom as discriminating against children with disabilities by enforcing compulsory segregation and urges legislative reform to end compulsory segregation. Also discussed is the restructuring of mainstream schools so they are accessible in terms of premises, curriculum, and facilities and the planning of the phased closure of all special schools. Individual sections examine national and international perspectives on inclusion, inclusion's justification in human rights, principles of inclusion, and finding the resources to finance inclusion. An appendix summarizes relevant statements from four international documents: the "UNESCO Salamanca Statement" (1994), the "United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child" (1989), the "UN Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities" (1993), and the World Bank's "Provision for Children with Special Educational Needs in the Asia Region" (1994). (DB)

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Inclusive education

a framework for change

national and international perspectives

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CSIE
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CSIE is an independent organisation working towards the inclusion of all pupils with disabilities or learning difficulties in mainstream schools. It provides information and advice about inclusion and related issues. The Centre's commitment to inclusive schools for all is based on human rights principles.

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Introduction

A Framework for Change reports on the philosophy and demands of the growing international movement for inclusive schools which welcome all children, whatever their needs and abilities.

Based on human rights principles, the Framework reflects on-going discussions, conferences, meetings and national and international developments on the urgent imperative of ending segregation in separate special schools for children with disabilities or those who experience difficulties in learning.

The main elements of the framework for change are:

- **Inclusion is not primarily an educational or professional issue, but an issue of basic human rights concerning everybody.**
- **Children's rights to inclusion take precedence over parents' choice.**
- **Inclusion is an on-going process of increasing participation, not a fixed state.**
- **Inclusive schools help the development of inclusive communities where all people are equally valued.**
- **The voices of disabled adults and children have key roles in developing inclusion.**
- **UK education legislation discriminates against disabled children by enforcing compulsory segregation.**
- **UK legislative reform is needed to:**
  i) end compulsory segregation and gradually restructure all mainstream schools so they are accessible in terms of premises, curriculum and facilities, and
  ii) to plan the phased closure of all special schools.

CSIE hopes that *A Framework for Change* will lead to action at local, national and international levels to press the case for inclusive education.

A framework for change
National and international perspectives

There is a growing consensus throughout the world that all children have the right to be educated together. In the last six years a number of major international statements have appeared, affirming the principle of inclusive education and the importance of 'working towards *schools for all* – institutions which include everybody, celebrate differences, support learning and respond to individual needs' (Salamanca Statement 1994).

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the UN Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (1993) and UNESCO's Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action are all powerful tools in the struggle to abolish segregated education which denies children with disabilities the right to be part of mainstream schooling and reinforces society's prejudice and discrimination against them. These documents, which together make a strong case for inclusion, provide a unique opportunity to place inclusive education firmly on the agenda of national governments. (See Appendix 1 for summary of documents).

The rights enshrined in the UN Convention are applicable to all children without discrimination including the right to education on the basis of equal opportunity. This spirit of inclusion is further emphasised in the UN Standard Rule 6, requiring member states to provide education for people with disabilities in integrated settings. But it is the Salamanca document which provides the clearest and most unequivocal statement about inclusion with its guiding principle that ordinary schools should accommodate all children, regardless of their physical, intellectual, emotional, social, linguistic or other requirements. All educational policies, according to Salamanca's accompanying Framework for Action, should stipulate that disabled children attend their neighbourhood school.

The UK formally supports all these documents. The British government ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991 and the UK was one of 92 countries which endorsed the Salamanca Statement in 1994. As a UN member state, the UK has also assumed responsibility for implementing the 1993 Standard Rules.

The weight accorded to international statements by individual countries varies widely and the UK's record has not been particularly positive. Nevertheless, Britain is a signatory to all these documents and we must use them in our 'domestic' struggle for inclusion. For Rachel Hurst, Chair of the European Region of Disabled Peoples' International, these are tools to be used at local and national level:

> 'We have to be there, every inch of the way, encouraging education authorities, school boards, policy-makers, governments, parents and disabled people to make them work. Disabled children, young people and adults must no longer be denied their right to be full and equal citizens in their own countries. We must be silent no longer'.

A question of human rights

As a matter of fundamental human rights, disabled children should not be excluded from ordinary institutions and communities and segregated on the grounds of their disability. Inclusion, argues Peter Newell, child advocate and children's rights campaigner, 'is not an educational or a professional issue, but an issue of basic human rights'. Debates about inclusion too often get drowned in arguments about detailed educational policies or discussions about professional roles and responsibilities. Of course, these are relevant in implementing inclusive education strategies but the stark fact remains that children with disabilities are facing rank discrimination.

The Salamanca Statement supports this human rights perspective, maintaining that 'inclusion and participation are essential to human dignity and the enjoyment and exercise of human rights'. Both this Statement and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child give clear international authority to the issue of inclusion as one of human rights.

The UN Convention expresses many values relevant to the struggle for inclusive education. Thomas Hammarberg, former Vice Chair of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, sees the document as 'not just a list of do's and don'ts or minimum requirements. It tries to formulate a message, an attitude, a philosophy towards children'. This philosophy, he suggests, has two main strands: 'Every child is unique – in characteristics, interests, abilities and needs; and every child has the ability to enjoy his or her rights without discrimination of any kind'. The Convention insists that children are individuals with rights and with views and feelings of their own.

The rights of disabled children are set out in Article 23 of the UN Convention and remind politicians and other decision-makers that each child with a disability has rights and should not be excluded or discriminated against. But this must be interpreted in the light of Article 2 which says that all rights shall apply to all children *without discrimination*. In other words, Article 23 supports Article 2 – it does not replace it – and was included in recognition of the fact that children with disabilities are often excluded.

The continuing segregation of disabled children and adults is wholly unacceptable in a society which no longer tolerates compulsory segregation on the grounds of race or gender. Segregation of this kind affects everyone and must be seen as an issue for everybody. Children without disabilities are handicapped by segregation from those with disabilities and we all suffer from the results of prejudice which segregation perpetuates.

There is a depressing tendency to use language which makes us feel more comfortable with breaches of human rights. It is easier to talk about 'special' education rather than admit to the reality of 'compulsory segregation'. We all like to feel 'special'; it makes us feel good, but as disabled children and their families will testify, so-called 'special education' often has more to do with the pain of being excluded. The denial of ordinary, everyday relationships occurring between those with and those without disabilities is unhealthy and unacceptable.

We have legislation which allows an education authority to name a separate school and to use school attendance procedures effectively to force the child to attend that school rather than the school which he or she would attend if they did not have 'special needs'. It is a form of apartheid, of separate development, and apartheid, we should not forget, was justified by its architects as being in the interests of the separated – and excluded – groups.

A failure to see inclusion as a basic human rights issue has created a situation where non-disabled people invite those with disabilities to enter 'their' world, as an act of charity or goodwill which fails to recognise people's right not to be segregated on the grounds of difference. The message that comes across loud and clear is 'you may be part of our world but with our permission and only on our terms'. We see this where a disabled child is 'allowed' to attend mainstream school – but only for two days a week; or the school which says 'we'll take him on approval for six weeks and see how it goes'.

Legalised segregation?

We have moved a long way since the 1960s when some children were deemed ineducable in law and integration was considered a radical idea espoused by a few pioneers. We are now approaching the last stage of reform. Ending segregation for the remaining 114,000 children in the UK's special schools is the last part of a long struggle – although the very smallness of the numbers intensifies the discrimination and prejudice for those 1.5 per cent of school children who are segregated.

When we look at what is happening in other countries around the world and in some local education authorities in the UK we can see that success is inevitable. The UN Convention, the Standard Rules and the Salamanca Statement testify to the strength of international support for inclusion. This makes it all the more outrageous that in the 1990s the UK Government has enacted legislation which increases selection and perpetuates compulsory segregation. We may be in the final stages of reform but progress is slow and, as CSIE has documented, in some parts of the country, we are clearly moving backwards. Inclusion encompasses putting a stop to selection on the grounds of low attainment as well as putting a stop to the privilege that selection on the grounds of high attainment brings.

Disabled children's full human rights cannot be upheld while they remain segregated through a legal framework which puts both parental preference and the efficient use of resources above the principle of inclusion. With the 1996 Education Act (replacing earlier legislation) local education authorities are free to segregate whole groups of disabled children without having to justify their actions other than respond to an immoral and discriminatory law.

The 1996 Act is plainly discriminatory in at least three respects. It places a general duty on local education authorities to make efficient use of resources when considering educating a disabled child in an ordinary school. Second, it states that the child must be able to receive the 'special provision' which his or her learning difficulty calls for, which is often used to justify a special school placement, despite the fact that all forms of provision provided in separate special schools can be provided in mainstream schools. Finally, placement in mainstream school must be compatible with the efficient education of other children – a reasonable condition if applied to all children but clearly discriminatory in this context.

In whose best interests?

Article 3 of the UN Convention states that in all actions and decisions taken the child's best interests 'shall be a primary consideration'. But as Peter Newell points out, adult self-interest is one of the major obstacles to enabling children with disabilities to exercise their full human rights. This is certainly true in the steadfast maintenance of a segregated special school 'industry' with all the activities and trades that it attracts. Non-disabled adults – not disabled children – have maintained a self-interest in the preservation of segregated institutions which have little or no relationship with local mainstream education services being offered to the majority of the community.

There are some adults, Peter Newell argues, who 'persist in defending the status quo, often using the concept of the best interests of the child – a concept which is frequently misunderstood and, more seriously, much misused'.

Some parents and professionals continue to convince themselves that segregation in special schools is in the 'best interests' of the children concerned. There are still organisations claiming to represent the interests of disabled people who refuse to sign up to the principle of inclusion. The UN Convention insists that we should not see children as possessions or as objects of concern. Thomas Hammarberg shares these concerns, emphasising that Article 3 of the Convention upholding the principle of the 'child's best interests' must be taken in conjunction with Article 12 which affirms the child's right to express an opinion and have that opinion taken into account in any matter or procedure affecting them. Otherwise, he believes, Article 3 will be interpreted as allowing adults to take decisions on behalf of a child, regardless of that child's own views. The combination of these two Articles is crucial in the re-consideration of education policy and plans for more inclusive communities.

Parents' and children's rights: a conflict of interests?

The UN Convention also emphasises parents' responsibility for their children with the child's welfare as their basic concern, but is the increasing emphasis on parental rights enshrined in the UK's education legislation being promoted at the cost of listening to children and upholding their rights to be heard and to have their views taken into account?

The general principle of educating children in line with the wishes of their parents was already in place before the 1996 Act was passed, but the Act elevates the principle of parental choice at the expense of the child's right to inclusion and specifically absolves local education authorities from their duty to educate children with special educational needs in ordinary schools if to do so would be 'incompatible with the wishes' of their parents.

In education law and policy it is parents, and not children, who are given rights to participation and decision-making. In direct breach of Article 12 of the Convention, current UK education legislation makes no provision for children to be heard when decisions are made in key areas such as choice of school, special educational needs assessment, placement or exclusion. Attempts to draw Ministers' attention to Article 12 during the passage of the Education Bills through Parliament have always been met with ridicule.

Of course most parents work actively in their children's interests, but not all do, and

children's fundamental human rights do not stop at the door of the family home. 'Parental choice' has been elevated as an artificial principle and given legal status as a means of promoting segregation, a situation which is totally unacceptable.

The right to be heard

Majority culture in the UK does not generally value children and children's points of view very highly. The belief that 'children should be seen and not heard' may have its origins in Victorian times but it is far from dead and buried today. Yet Article 12 of the UN convention is about really listening to children fully – 'respecting them, making it possible for them to express themselves and giving their opinions and views due weight' (Thomas Hammarberg).

As Micheline Mason, co-founder of the Alliance for Inclusive Education and a disabled parent, points out 'Speaking for yourself doesn't necessarily mean using long words. In fact a lot of people use words to *not* say what they really want!' As she discovered when her daughter, Lucy, was born:

> 'There was never a point from the time she was born when she didn't have something to "say" about what she wanted. I didn't learn from a book or from other mothers. I learned from her. She told me all the time what her needs were and my job was to listen to her and keep responding until I got it right'.

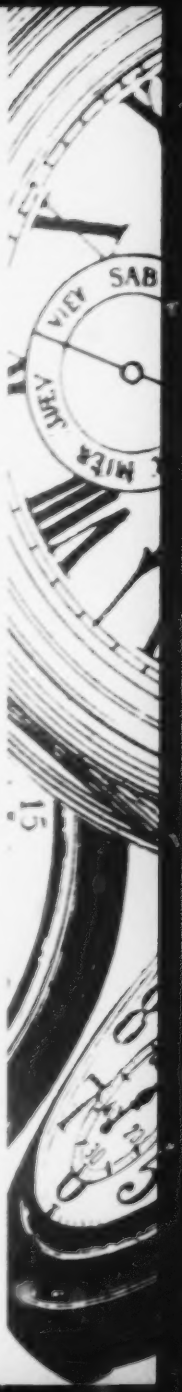
We may not be particularly good at listening to non-disabled children but children with disabilities tend to fare worst, particularly if they are growing up with communication difficulties. The challenge for those around them is to help find a means of communication so that their needs and wishes are understood. It means spending time with someone, really getting to know them, seeing how they react in different situations. It is the kind of intuitive knowledge that parents have.

Lucy, now 11 years old, attends a mainstream comprehensive school; she uses a wheelchair and needs a full-time assistant. As her mother says: 'There have been many battles along the way when Lucy has said "I need help – but not that sort of help".

> 'Lucy has recently written a job description for her general assistant, even though some people have found it threatening that a girl of eleven can know what she wants and can tell people. What she came up with was nothing like the "kind, caring person needed to look after brittle bone child" job description written by adults in the past. "Person must not want job for power" was her main criterion. She was also looking for someone who "must be able to listen to a child" but who must also be prepared to "listen to my mummy". The assistant must also "be able to help friendships and must not get ill regularly!"'

The tyranny of normality

One major reason for the continuing discrimination and segregation of disabled children and adults is the way disability has been defined. By defining themselves as 'normal', non-disabled people are implying that to be disabled is to be 'not normal': indeed, not only 'not normal' but different, less equal, and of lesser value. As Tony Booth, Senior Lecturer at the Open University asserts: 'We have to challenge the ideas within ourselves about normality of body and mind and rid ourselves of the tyranny of normality'.



But this is no easy task. He adds: 'To really take on board the notions of equality and value we have to make deep switches in our thinking'. Without this re-framing, we are unlikely to succeed in making the kind of far-reaching changes needed to achieve the fullest inclusion of disabled children and adults in society.

The Salamanca Framework for Action highlighted the importance of valuing diversity, suggesting that 'human differences are normal' and proposing that mainstream education systems recognise this by adapting to the needs of individual children and providing an inclusive education service. In the words of the opening Statement: 'Every child has unique characteristics, interests, abilities and learning needs' .

Disabled people are increasingly challenging hitherto accepted definitions of disability, but it is only in the last ten to fifteen years that disabled people have begun to develop structures for self-representation. As Micheline Mason, who has been in the forefront of the disability rights movement, reminds us: 'Until recently we had no way to correct the idea that we were somehow "faulty and needed to be fixed – the medical model" approach, based on the belief that the impairment is the problem and problems need to be fixed. And if they can't be fixed or mended then they have to be "managed".'

Rachel Hurst too emphasises the problems inherent in a definition which sees disability as 'a medical and personal problem where the emphasis is on the person and the implication is that it is the person who should change to conform to society and where responsibility for that change is laid on medical or other professionals rather than on society itself'. In contrast to this, the social model sees disabled people as active fighters for equality, challenging barriers to inclusion such as poverty, inaccessible transport, discriminatory employment practices, prejudice and a general de-valuing of non-able-bodied people. The social model also firmly declares there are no 'quick fixes' and that 'ownership' of a disability or learning difficulty does not rest with the individual but with the school community or society as a whole.

Creating effective alliances

For inclusion to become a reality, there must be a strong consensus on the principle of inclusion leading to effective lobbying for the necessary changes in policy, legislation and practice. Sadly this did not happen during the passage of the 1996 Education Act (or its earlier versions). Although a series of amendments were proposed which encouraged inclusion, a lack of agreement about inclusion amongst different lobbying organisations meant that a legislative opportunity for reform was lost.

Both the Salamanca Statement and the UN Standard Rules emphasise that people with disabilities must be involved in every aspect of the education process. The Salamanca Statement calls on governments to 'encourage and facilitate the participation ... of organisations of persons with disabilities in the planning and decision-making processes concerning provision for special educational needs'. The Standard Rules take a similar line, Rule 6 stating that 'organisations of persons with disabilities should be involved in the education process at all levels'.

None of this may sound particularly radical, but as Micheline Mason realised, 'the inclusion movement could have gone forward

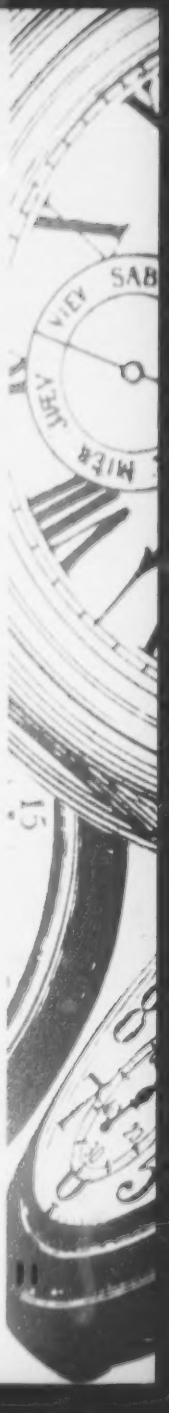
without disabled people'. The explanation for this, she believes, lies in the past: 'There is a real danger this would happen because of our history. The structure of society has been designed to keep us out. Disabled people live a parallel life to able-bodied people because through segregated education the relationship between us was effectively broken when we were very young'.

The UK now has a strong and active movement of disabled people, but if its members are saying, quite rightly, they must take control of their own lives, this poses a challenge to the inclusion movement. Is a genuine partnership possible? Can disabled people work from alliances with others, including parents and professionals, without being in danger of disempowerment?

Building partnerships is essential, even if it raises conflicts and tensions. As Micheline Mason says: 'How can the disability movement become an all age movement if we do not make alliances with the parents of young disabled people?' And even more importantly: 'How can parents and professionals have any idea of a positive future for their young people if they do not know what disabled people are thinking and doing to build an inclusive world?'

Disabled people must be asked about the kind of policies and solutions they would like to see pursued, what they see as the problems and what the agenda for action should be. Disabled people must play a central role in shaping an inclusive future. But they are also there to bear witness to the past, to tell the able-bodied world what it felt like to grow up as part of a separate world. There are many disabled adults today who many years after leaving school still feel the pain of that early enforced segregation when they were irrevocably cut off from their able-bodied peers.

Strong alliances can also tackle discrimination in a more holistic manner. Disabled children are routinely discriminated against in the education system but it doesn't stop when people reach school-leaving age. The 1995 Disability Discrimination Act has been described by Rachel Hurst as 'a whitewash, a political and social disgrace and an apartheid Act' – a view shared by many disabled people. The employment clauses exemplify the weaknesses of the Act. It will no longer be legal for an employer to treat a disabled person less favourably than others – but only if they employ more than 20 staff. The net result? Ninety-six per cent of all employers are exempt.



Understanding inclusion

A fundamental shift

In thinking about the hows, whys and wherefores of inclusive education there is a danger that inclusion will be seen as a task, as an educational strategy that can be taken or left, or something people will get round to when they have sorted out the National Curriculum, worked out the intricacies of grant maintained status and adapted to other recent changes in our education system. But inclusion is not an add-on or a tinkering at the edge of the system. Neither is it about devising a new 'model' which could be picked off the shelf and used by everyone.

Inclusive education involves fundamentally re-thinking the meaning and purpose of education for all children and young people, a restructuring of ordinary schools. But it means being pro-active as well. As Federico Mayor wrote in the preface to the Salamanca Statement: 'Special needs education cannot advance in isolation. The future is not fated, but will be fashioned by our values, thoughts and actions'. The Framework for Action also made the point that 'most of the required changes do not relate exclusively to the inclusion of children with special educational needs. They are part of a wider reform of education'. The Standard Rules take a similar view: 'Education for persons with disabilities should form an integral part of national educational planning, curriculum development and school organisation'.

The inclusive school

Inclusive education cannot be viewed in isolation from education as a whole. The principle of inclusion raises fundamental questions about the nature and purpose of our education system and the part which schools play in the life of the community. Schools do not exist in a vacuum – they are part of the wider community and community life does not stop at the school gates. There are those who argue that the school's role is solely to instil learning in children, but Article 29 of the UN convention suggests a somewhat broader perspective. Education, it suggests, should be 'directed at developing the child's personality and talents, and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential' but should also be 'fostering respect for basic human rights and developing respect for the child's own cultural and national values and those of others'.

As Thomas Hammarberg suggests, 'If you combine Article 23 the disabled child's right to active participation in the community and the fullest possible social integration with the type of education described in Article 29, it flows logically that we are aiming for an inclusive school where there is a place for everyone and education is such that the school atmosphere is one that welcomes everyone'.

An issue for everyone

In striving to develop inclusive education there is a danger of seeing it as an issue for disabled people and their supporters rather than something concerning everyone. For Peter

Newell: 'It is a fundamental issue for all people: the right not to be discriminated against and segregated on the grounds of individual difference'. It is a social issue, requiring commitment and involvement by the whole community.

And the Salamanca Statement reminds us, if we are to have inclusive schools which promote equal opportunity and participation this 'requires a concerted effort, not only by teachers and school staff but also by peers, parents, families and volunteers'. Inclusion is a challenge for everyone, a top-down and bottom-up issue. At a fundamental level it is an issue of equal membership of the mainstream – who is in and who is out, and if somebody is denied membership of the mainstream, then why?

Inclusive schools in inclusive communities

The inclusive school is only one piece of the jigsaw, an element of an inclusive society. But it's an essential building block in creating inclusive communities as the Salamanca Statement recognised: 'The merit of such [inclusive] schools is not only that they are capable of providing quality education to all children; their establishment is a crucial step in helping to change discriminatory attitudes, in creating welcoming communities and in developing an inclusive society'.

Disabled people grow up in segregated settings, leading a separate existence which often begins when they enter special school though it can start even earlier with segregated pre-school programmes. As 'schools for all', inclusive schools challenge this enforced segregation. The UN Standard Rules aim to keep disabled people in the mainstream of society from the start, proposing that special attention should be given to very young children with disabilities and to preschoolers (Rule 6, para 5(a) (b). If we did not separate children in this way, we might avoid the situation where disabled adults are having to fight to 're enter' mainstream society.

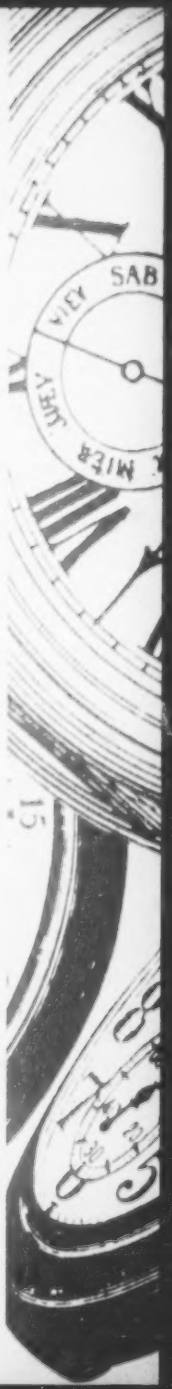
A process not a state

Disabled people's lives are often characterised by the 'readiness' syndrome: 'We'll let you do that once you've acquired this skill',or 'You can start looking for a job but only when you've learned about employment'. Readiness ignores the fact that most people learn by doing. We learn to cross the road safely by watching the traffic; we learn to ride a bicycle by getting on it – and sometimes falling off.

Inclusion is a process to be engaged in now. Helen McLennon, Deputy Head of Eastlea Comprehensive School in Newham, London found that when young people with disabilities joined the school it was '... a learning experience for all of us. Each child comes with loads of pluses and a few problems and we're tackling them all together. We're learning together'.

Schools like Eastlea are learning by doing, not putting things off 'because we've got too much on our plates already'. This does not mean that they went ahead unthinkingly and without any preparation but they realised that often the real learning takes place through experience, even though this can mean taking risks. This was echoed by Tam Preboyne and Davy Jose, two Eastlea students with disabilities:

Tam Preboyne: 'Since the move I've noticed that the more disabled kids you have around the easier it is to get used to the idea. Before there were two different worlds – one for



people in mainstream and one for people with disabilities – and they weren't joined. Now we're all mixed together it's easier for people to get used to the idea because they see you all mixed together'.

Davy Jose: 'When we first came to Eastlea they saw us as aliens, then they got used to us ... and we talked about what they saw on TV and then they treated us as normal as they could'.

At national level, the UN Convention allows states to opt for progressive implementation because of the resource implications of change but the Convention's monitoring system does not let governments off the hook. They must demonstrate to the monitoring committee that they have plans and policies for implementing the Convention's clauses and show that they accord priority to this issue. Although Thomas Hammarberg pointed out, progressive implementation is actually inconsistent with Article 2 which upholds the right not to be discriminated against.

Seeing inclusion as a process also has implications for how we deal with the inevitable challenges and disappointments which will occur. For example, there will be times when a child has to be excluded on a temporary basis from mainstream school, perhaps because of challenging behaviour but that should not be viewed as the end of the matter. We must avoid 'cementing' problems so that failure is allowed to become a permanent description of that child. Inclusion as a dynamic process involves continual reflection, re-thinking, analysing and learning from situations. It is about learning from experience and about trying to figure out what we might do next time challenging behaviour happens – as it inevitably will even if not with that particular child.

The process of inclusion is also about nurturing each child's development. As Article 6 of the UN Convention states, each child has the right to 'development to the maximum extent possible' – not just physical development, but emotional, social and cognitive development.

Tam Preboyne and Davy Jose both feel strongly that mainstream school has opened up many more opportunities as they move into adulthood. They contrast this with their experience of special schools where, as Tam Preboyne found: 'It was the same level of work all the time. They weren't pushing you on and it was like here you are and here you are going to stay. This is where you're going to be for the rest of your life'. For Davy Jose too, it felt as though 'there was no potential lying ahead but since the move I have seen things which could lie ahead and which I could grasp'.

Resourcing inclusion

Opponents of inclusion frequently claim that we cannot afford to educate all children in mainstream schools, ignoring the fact that we already invest heavily in a large and expensive segregated system. Alternatives to inclusive schools are currently being funded with well over £1,000 million tied up in special education provision in annual expenditure in England and Wales alone. Choices have been – and continue to be – made by those holding the purse strings about where and how money is spent. As Philippa Russell, Director of the Council for Disabled Children points out, 'Whenever we've had generous resources we've tended to invest in institutions rather than people'. And history shows we have had a strong desire to establish segregating institutions to 'take away the problem', when money has been there to build.

It is nearly thirty years since the Government decided that children should not be living in long-stay hospitals but in many ways they remain largely cut off from their natural communities by segregated educational provision. Children with complex needs require specialist services but they must be relocated in more appropriate community environments including neighbourhood schools.

These human resources of experience and expertise amongst special school personnel must be redeployed in non-segregated settings.

The Salamanca Statement recognises that 'within inclusive schools, children with special educational needs should receive whatever extra support they may require to ensure their effective education ... [and] provision of support services is of paramount importance for the success of inclusive educational policies'. The Statement is unequivocal: inclusion must be properly resourced, a stance echoed in the UN Standard Rules which calls for the provision of 'appropriate support services' as a prerequisite for educating children with disabilities in mainstream schools. The London Borough of Newham is one example of an LEA that has chosen, on philosophical and educational grounds, to redirect the spending of many millions of pounds from segregated institutions to increasingly inclusive and diverse settings.

Support for disabled children such as classroom aides or support teachers are essential but inclusion will also require investment in mainstream teacher training, ensuring that buildings are fully accessible and the provision of technical aids. Securing a commitment to redeploy existing resources as well as obtaining additional resources will be necessary.

Although as Peter Newell points out inclusion can cost less than segregation in some cases – even possibly overall. When this is the case, we should not be frightened of saying so, at the same time as challenging inadequate levels of support and half-hearted access to buildings.

Resources – or lack of them – are continually used as a reason for inaction on inclusion. But underlying this is often a lack of commitment to change. As Thomas Hammarberg reminds us: 'In the end it's a question of what kind of society we want to live in. You could scrap taxes ...'. This has become an increasingly important political issue in Britain over the past

decade with opinions sharply divided about whether we should pay lower taxes or opt to invest, through taxation, in building effective health, education and welfare services. But despite a strong lobby in favour of reducing taxation, opinion polls constantly indicate that voters place a high priority on investing in education; the change in Government in the UK in May 1997 with its declared priority for improved support for education, brought with it some hope for change in this area.

Conclusion

The UK is a signatory to the UN Convention and the Salamanca Statement so the choice should be straightforward. A commitment to ending compulsory segregation has to be a first priority for change through legislative reform.

The Alliance for Inclusive Education is campaigning for an immediate end to compulsory segregation as well as for:

- All mainstream schools to be made accessible in terms of premises, facilities and curriculum over ten years.
- The transfer of human and financial resources to one restructured diverse inclusive system, also within ten years.
- A national policy on inclusive education to guide LEAs and others on implementation of the new law.

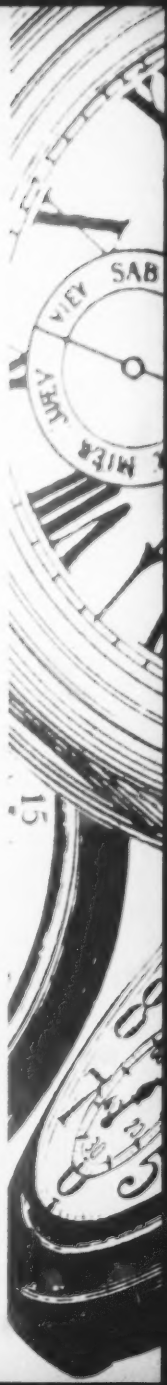
The general issue of exclusion from schools will also need to be tackled at the same time as the law is reformed (see CSIE publication 'Inclusive Education and EBD'). Providing legal entitlement to mainstream education for all children makes it necessary to consider the very small range of circumstances in which a school can be said to be justified in excluding a child. There must be strict criteria limiting exclusion to a last resort in situations where welfare and education is seriously threatened and ensuring a planned programme to return to mainstream with no loss of entitlement to a mainstream place.

Even before new legislation is enacted there are steps which can be taken now. Local education authorities and schools can build the principle of inclusion into their special needs policies in a way which insists on action to reduce segregation. Schools can work towards inclusion and make their own commitment now, as some already have to make sure that all children in the neighbourhood of the school have the opportunity to be totally included in the ordinary classroom and in the extra curricula activities of their school.

The relocation to the mainstream of the skills, care and expertise which occurs in some special schools has often been the catalyst to bring about necessary reforms in ordinary schools, so that this population of children – excluded since formal schooling began over a 100 years ago – can be *included*. Many new career posts have emerged over the last decade as a result of first integration and now inclusion, developing in ordinary schools.

The fundamental issue is the discrimination inherent in segregating children on the grounds of disability and the hurt, anger, lost opportunities and relationships and diminished learning which this sort of exclusion causes. As Peter Newell points out, persisting prejudice perpetuated through segregation is an adult problem for which children suffer.

Through this document and other aspects of its work, CSIE is calling for a fundamental shift in thinking on special education provision to acknowledge pressing human rights principles. The 'integration' of small numbers of disabled pupils through the 1970s to the early 1990s



can now be seen as only the beginnings of much larger reforms and changes that must come about in relation to the education of children with disabilities or learning difficulties.

Experience shows that the 'integration' often meant permission to attend a mainstream school on that school's terms, with minimum alteration to curriculum or buildings.

Inclusion, on the other hand, openly calls for a restructuring of mainstream schools so that a much improved framework for change can develop and the education of all disabled children can be an ordinary part of everyday schooling – as a fundamental right.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1 *CSIE summary*

International perspectives on inclusion

Major initiatives towards including disabled children in ordinary schools are being taken internationally in both policy and practice. This appendix includes key information summaries from four main documents covering these developments. (1995)

1 The UNESCO Salamanca Statement (1994)

This report from the UN's education agency calls on the international community to endorse the approach of inclusive schools by implementing practical and strategical changes.

In June 1994 representatives of 92 Governments and 25 international organisations formed the World Conference on Special Needs Education, held in Salamanca, Spain. They agreed a dynamic new Statement on the education of all disabled children which called for inclusion to be the norm. In addition, the Conference adopted a new Framework for Action, the guiding principle of which is that ordinary schools should accommodate *all* children, regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic or other conditions. All educational policies, says the Framework, should stipulate that disabled children attend the neighbourhood school 'that would be attended if the child did not have a disability'.

The **Statement** begins with a commitment to Education for All, recognising the necessity and urgency of providing education for all children, young people and adults 'within the regular education system'. It says those children with special educational needs 'must have access to regular schools' and adds:

> 'Regular schools with this inclusive orientation are the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all; moreover, they provide an effective education to the majority of children and improve the efficiency and ultimately the cost-effectiveness of the entire education system'.

The World Conference went on to call upon all Governments to:

- give the 'highest policy and budgetary priority' to improve education services so that all children could be included, regardless of differences or difficulties.
- 'adopt as a matter of law or policy the principle of inclusive education' and enrol all children in ordinary schools unless there were compelling reasons for doing otherwise.
- develop demonstration projects and encourage exchanges with countries with inclusive schools.
- ensure that organisations of disabled people, along with parents and community bodies are involved in planning decision-making.
- put greater effort into pre-school strategies as well as vocational aspects of inclusive education.
- ensure that both initial and in-service teacher training address the provision of inclusive education.

The Statement also calls on the international community to endorse the approach of inclusive schooling and to support the development of special needs education as an integral part of all education programmes. In particular it calls on: UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP and the World Bank for this endorsement.

It asks for the United Nations and its specialised agencies to 'strengthen their inputs for technical cooperation' and improve their networking for more efficient support to integrated special needs provision. Non-governmental organisations are asked to strengthen their collaboration with official national bodies and become more involved in all aspects of inclusive education.

As the UN agency for education, UNESCO is asked to:

- ensure that special needs education forms part of every discussion dealing with education for all.
- enhance teacher education in this field by getting support from teacher unions and associations.
- stimulate the academic community to do more research into inclusive education and disseminate the findings and the reports.
- use its funds over the five-year period, 1996-2001, to create an expanded programme for inclusive schools and community support projects, thus enabling the launch of pilot projects.

The Framework for Action says 'inclusion and participation are essential to human dignity and to the enjoyment and exercise of human rights'. In the field of education this is reflected in bringing about a 'genuine equalisation of opportunity'. Special needs education incorporates proven methods of teaching from which all children can benefit; it assumes human differences are normal and that learning must be adapted to the needs of the child, rather than the child fitted to the process. The fundamental principle of the inclusive school, it adds, is that all children should learn together, where possible, and that ordinary schools must recognise and respond to the diverse needs of their students, while also having a continuum of support and services to match these needs. Inclusive schools are the 'most effective' at building solidarity between children with special needs and their peers. Countries with few or no special schools should establish inclusive – not special – schools.

SOURCE *The Salamanca Statement* and *Framework For Action on Special Needs Education* may be obtained from UNESCO, Special Education Programme, 7 Place de Fontenoy 75352 PARIS 07-SP.

2 The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

188 countries worldwide have ratified the Convention; the UK ratified it in 1991, committing the UK to full implementation.

Article 2 states that all rights shall apply to all children without discrimination on any ground and specifically mentions disability.

Article 3 states that in all actions the child's best interests 'shall be a primary consideration'.

Article 6 states that every child has the inherent right to life, and each country should ensure the child's survival and development to the maximum extent possible.

Article 12 states the right of the child to express an opinion and to have that opinion taken into account, in any matter or procedure affecting the child.

Article 23 states the right of disabled children to enjoy a full and decent life, in conditions which ensure dignity, promote self-reliance, and facilitate the child's active participation in the community. It also states the right of the disabled

child to special care, education, health care, training, rehabilitation, employment preparation and recreation opportunities; all these shall be designed in a manner conducive to the child achieving 'the fullest possible social integration and individual development, including his or her cultural and spiritual development'.

Article 28 states the child's right to education, and says it shall be on the basis of equal opportunity.

Article 29 states that a child's education should be directed at developing the child's personality and talents, and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential. It also states that education shall prepare the child for an active and responsible life as an adult, fostering respect for basic human rights and developing respect for the child's own cultural and national values and those of others.

SOURCE *The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* may be obtained from UNICEF, 54, Lincoln Inn Fields, London, England WC2A 3NB.

3 The UN Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (1993)

EDUCATION, summarised below, is Rule 6 in a total of 22 Rules.

The Standard Rules set an international standard for policy-making and action covering disabled people.

Countries should recognise the principle of equal primary, secondary and tertiary educational opportunities for children, youth and adults with disabilities, in integrated settings. They should ensure that the education of people with disabilities is an integral part of the educational system.

There should be interpreter and other support services such as adequate accessibility; parent groups and organisations of disabled people should be involved in the education process at all levels; and in those States where education is compulsory, it should be provided to girls and boys with all kinds and levels of disabilities, including the most severe.

Special attention should be given to very young disabled children; pre-school children with disabilities and adults with disabilities, particularly women.

In order to implement inclusive education, States should have a clearly stated policy that is understood at school and wider community levels; they should allow for a flexible curriculum as well as additions and adaptations; and provide quality materials, on-going teacher-training and support teachers. Inclusive education and community-based programmes should be seen as complementary approaches to cost-effective education and training for disabled people. Communities should develop local resources to provide this education.

Where ordinary schools cannot yet adequately make provision, special school education may be aimed at preparing the student for inclusion in the mainstream. Such a separate placement should have the same aims and standards as the ordinary sector, including resources equal to those without disabilities. States should aim for gradual inclusion; in some instances, special education may be appropriate for some students, particularly deaf and deaf/blind people, though special classes and units in the mainstream should be considered. Culturally sensitive instruction will produce maximum communication skills and independence for such people.

SOURCE *The Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities* may be obtained from Disabled Persons Unit, Department for Policy Co-ordination, United Nations, Room DC2-1302, New York, NY 10017, USA.

4 Provision for Children with Special Educational Needs in the Asia Region (1994)

WORLD BANK TECHNICAL PAPER NUMBER 261
ASIA TECHNICAL SERIES.

The World Bank works in conjunction with the UN; it provides loans to developing countries and commissions papers on a wide range of issues.

Contributing countries: Bangladesh, Brunei, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand

The forgotten children

Disabled children are at the centre of a movement to improve primary education in Asia which aims to see all children going to school by the year 2,000. According to this World Bank Report, the development of inclusive primary education is the best option for achieving education for all in the Asia region where school enrolment rates are still lower than 70 per cent in some countries and where most disabled children receive no schooling at all. An estimated 130 million 'forgotten' children in developing countries, the majority girls, are without any kind of basic or primary education.

This 1994 report, which is based on 15 country case studies, argues that universal primary education (UPE) cannot be achieved without the inclusion of children with special educational needs in the system, and that they can be successfully and much less expensively accommodated in integrated rather than fully segregated settings. Educational benefits for all children may also be associated with quality improvements which are inherent in providing inclusive primary education, through major changes in the way schooling is planned, implemented and evaluated.

According to the report: 'If segregated special education is to be provided for all children with special educational needs, the cost will be enormous and prohibitive for all developing countries. If integrated in-class provision with a support teacher system is envisaged for the vast majority of children with special educational needs, then the additional costs can be marginal, if not negligible'.

As an example, the report sites India which it says has major experience of absorbing children with special needs into ordinary classrooms and providing appropriate training for teachers. In that country the unit cost for children with special educational needs in mainstream is $6US compared to $5US for children without special needs. The unit cost for SEN children in segregated settings is $33US, five times the figure in mainstream.

Children with special needs are defined in the report as children with situational disadvantages due to malnutrition, child labour and other factors associated with poverty, those with physical, mental, or emotional impairments as well as those who experience difficulties in learning at any time during their school age. It is estimated that as many as 50 per cent of school age children in many of the least developed countries of Asia may need specialised educational responses.

Progress at all levels

The report says Asian countries are becoming more aware that the goal of universal primary education will require greater participation of disabled children and most have already begun to address improvements regarding the quality of education which the participation of disabled children implies. Changes towards more inclusive primary education have occurred in all Asian countries covered by the report, at all levels of economic development. Concerns to avoid unnecessarily inflating costs for the poorest countries mean that greater efficiency has to be

sought through teacher retraining, more appropriate initial and induction training, improved deployment, motivation and professional support, better and more appropriate learning materials, and curriculum reform to make learning appropriate to the lives, capacities and needs of a wider range of children.

'Schools need to be provided with the full range of human resources necessary to deliver a full curriculum for all children, through a combination of class-teacher, specialist, semi-specialist, resource teacher, consultancy and ancillary staff, as necessary. That need not mean more staff overall than at present. It is rather a question of improved and more differentiated quality than greater quantity'.

The report says that if primary education is to be more effective for a greater diversity of children, then schools need to be more responsive to pupils needs and teachers need a larger more differentiated repertoire of teaching strategies, as well as the capacity to improve and adjust the curriculum to deliver educational programs which are appropriate for all children. A shift in philosophy is needed from a focus on deficits to an understanding that all children are capable of learning. Rather than placing responsibility for failure on the child or the environment, the task is to specify the conditions under which diverse students can achieve optimal learning success.

Professional co-operation essential

As well as arguing that disabled children cannot be left out of the development of primary education, that it is 'vastly more expensive' to segregate than integrate, and that major changes in schools are needed to support diverse learners, other main messages in the report are:

- If education for all is to succeed, inter-professional initiatives are necessary and community involvement is essential.
- The costs of continuing family, community and social dependence are likely to be far greater than investments necessary to educate children.
- Of the various alternative models of learning support, the support teacher system promises to be the most cost effective and educationally productive.
- A combined health nutrition and educational strategy is desirable.
- There is an urgent need for more research and evaluation of emerging provision to identify those patterns which are most cost effective and educationally efficient.

Some developments towards inclusive primary education in Asia

One of the poorest countries in the world, **Nepal**, has set a goal to integrate children with mild to moderate impairments in mainstream primary education. The target is to make special education an integral part of basic primary education. Of the 21 schools or units set up since 1985 by the Nepal Association for the Welfare of the Blind, all but one are attached to ordinary schools.

In **India** the Five Year Plan, 1991-96, increased the budget for children with impairments by more than five times. India supports a major national development programme on the integration of such children into ordinary schools.

In the **Philippines** Section 5, Article 1 of Policies and Guidelines for Special Education specifies that the ultimate goal of special education shall be the integration of learners with special needs in the regular school system and eventually into the community.

The **Sri Lankan** government was an early pioneer of mainstreaming. It regards integration of children with and without impairments as the

most important contribution to community living. Families in Sri Lanka have volunteered to assist teachers in the integrated programmes, motivating principals to open up their schools to children with impairments.

Korea, **Malaysia**, **Sri Lanka**, **China**, **Nepal**, **Indonesia** and **Thailand** are among the Asian countries to have introduced Individual Learning Programmes in classrooms which include children with special educational needs.

Thailand has accepted sign language as a legitimate language and has produced one of the earliest sign language dictionaries.

In **China** special classes, mainly for slow learners, affiliated to ordinary schools enrolled 2,651 children by 1990. In Nanjing province a start was made in 1993 on in-service teacher training to provide support for children with mild learning difficulties.

Source: World Bank Technical Paper number 261, Asia Technical Series by James Lynch is available from Microinfo Ltd, PO Box 3, Alton, Hampshire GU34 2PG, England. Price £8.05 plus £2.00 p+p.

APPENDIX 2

People quoted in this report

Tony Booth Senior Lecturer, Centre for Curriculum and Teacher Studies, Open University.

Thomas Hammarberg Former Vice-Chair, UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, and Ambassador and Special Advisor on Humanitarian Issues at the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Stockholm.

Rachel Hurst Director of Disability Awareness in Action and Chair of the European Region of Disabled Peoples' International.

Davy Jose Student, Eastlea School, Newham.

Helen McLennon Deputy Head, Eastlea School.

Micheline Mason Coordinator, Alliance for Inclusive Education.

Peter Newell Founder, EPOCH (End Physical Punishment of Children) and Secretary CSIE Council.

Tam Preboyne Student, Eastlea School, Newham.

Philippa Russell Director, Council for Disabled Children and member of CSIE Council.

Inclusive education: a framework for change reflects the growing international movement calling for inclusive schools which welcome all children, whatever their needs and abilities.

CSIE hopes the human rights principles raised in this report will lead to new action at local, national and international levels.

CSIE
Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education

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